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565 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

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624 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[44 cont.]

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10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

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The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely necessary for one to be blown at the offering (7). [439]

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dōn is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouth-piece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan duñ; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[636 cont.]

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[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.]
yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand,
which a dead person with age-consecration
wears, must be burned with the corpse,
just like the sash that he received at that
time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is
rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

[171] The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the
Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until
after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does
not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not
buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with
the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan
chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of
the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[532] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof
[171] and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the
Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case
of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-
moon attachment, the movable back
wall, and the carrying pole are lacking.
The corpse is usually put inside through
the front door or from above, because
the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a
mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[324] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
 782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
 792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
 465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
 own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
 [272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
 [262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
 In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
 butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
 [788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
 month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
 night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
 prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
 • [556] to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
 dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
 of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
 [432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
 the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
 services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
 602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives.

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes respect, called

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujén and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the tormas depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans. 754

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries. [552]

In countries where there are no newspapers, such tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 203
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Haining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people. 754

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

According to the Monguors, persons who commit injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.⁷⁷⁷
 Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding ⁶⁸⁵
 a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in ⁵⁵⁶
 possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution.
 Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice.
 Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of
 the Red Sect, and *vice versa*; but never for a lama of the
 same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. ⁷⁷²
 The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a ⁶⁸⁵
 rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on ⁷⁸²
 it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one ⁵⁵⁶
 on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are
 deposited five small paper bags, each containing a
 handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of
 the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls,
 white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat
 and some new garments of the very cheapest kind.
 The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living
 room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous
 bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns
 painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit
 before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two
 feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron
 and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall
 of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and
 is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted
 painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In
 front of the city gate a stake is planted on which
 cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake
 is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the
 avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake,
 ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual
 daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation,
 they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they
 start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging
 bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan
 chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

⁷⁷⁷ The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among
 the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod
 was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski,
Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français, 215b, Kazan, 1844, gives a
 description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan
 times: "garden de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens.
 Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de dif-
 férents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian
 source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th
 century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174,
 the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is
 familiar to the Tibetans too. "The old Bön religion in Tibet
 honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called
Nor-Lha. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Alt-
 tischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each
 man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth,
 who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered
 an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it.
 J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies,
Serie Orientale, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard
 grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields,
 of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N
*563 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes
586 goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

A. The Family Organization

M
594 Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patri-
596 lineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed
[611] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family
[591] consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The
N
*563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-
grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are
married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family.
M
[556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines,
and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M
[361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which
the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The
property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the fam-
ily has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth
and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact
is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only
one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus,
M
[182] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its
[252] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook
its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are
well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by
M
[342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended
family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing.
M
[264] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended
[342] family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

M
*563 The family head is the religious chief, family administrator
and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each
spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors,
he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are
his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a
M
592 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the
554 village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and
[169] responsibilities. He has control over all the community property
belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its
individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides
how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important
economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling
cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and super-
vises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields,
and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also
enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals;
e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/The Mongours/

000 on the luckless family.

N
*563 The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave
M their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and
231 prosperity also leave the family.

(777) Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed
M to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy
[886] it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is
[175] no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of
death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an
animal.

N
*563 Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash
M their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the
515 elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the im-
[1784] portance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the
Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of
blessings.

5. Occupations

N
*563 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to
M farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the
241 Mongours were allotted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu,
233 during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to
433 farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance
on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large
herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and
more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified vil-
lages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much
more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation
to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mon-
gours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N
*563 The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their
M techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields.
241 They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and
[777] peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic,
[432] leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes
in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are
for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh
fruits and vegetables.

N
*563 Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They
M raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep
231 as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses
554 are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige
[556] of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses
[184] and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take
care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the
livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures dur-
ing the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society